

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:ALATHERTON, JR./HLK

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S/S -CABORG

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TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE

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CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, EG, IS, US

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR FAHMY

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SISCO

1. AS YOU REQUESTED, FOLLOWING IS A PROPOSED MESSAGE FROM YOU TO EILTS INSTRUCTING HIM TO HAVE A SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION WITH FAHMY ON THE STATE OF PLAY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND PARTICULARLY ON THE POLITICAL ASSURANCES TO WHICH THE ISRAELIS HAVE ATTACHED SO MUCH IMPORTANCE IN OUR TALKS IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK. YOU WILL HAVE NOTED FROM CAIRO 8084 THAT EILTS EXPECTS TO TRAVEL WITH SENATOR SCOTT TO SEE SADAT EITHER SATURDAY OR SUNDAY. IF HE HAS YOUR INSTRUCTION, HE COULD STAY IN ALEXANDRIA FOR A TALK WITH FAHMY, WHICH MEANS THAT IT SHOULD BE TRANSMITTED TO CAIRO THIS EVENING. I THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF FOLLOWING MESSAGE COULD ALSO BE SENT TO TOON STRICTLY FOR HIS BACKGROUND INFORMATION. THIS WOULD SERVE TO BRING HIM UP TO DATE ON HIGHLIGHTS OF WHERE WE STAND AS A RESULT OF OUR MEETINGS WITH GAZIT, DINITZ AND COMPANY.

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2. BEGIN MESSAGE:

ACTION: IMMEDIATE CAIRO NIACT

INFO: IMMEDIATE TEL AVIV

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, EG, IS, US

SUBJECT: STATE OF PLAY IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

I BELIEVE TIME HAS NOW COME FOR YOU TO HAVE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION WITH FAHMY BOTH TO BRING HIM AND SADAT UP TO DATE ON PROGRESS OF OUR TALKS WITH ISRAELIS HERE AND IN ORDER TO BEGIN TO MOVE MATTERS FORWARD ON THE EGYPTIAN SIDE. YOU SHOULD THEREFORE SEE FAHMY AND GO OVER FOLLOWING GROUND WITH HIM.

OUR DISCUSSIONS THIS WEEK WITH ISRAELI TEAM, HEADED BY AMBASSADOR DINITZ AND MORDECHAI GAZIT, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF PRIME MINISTRY, HAVE FOCUSED IN FIRST INSTANCE ON REVIEWING FORMULATIONS DISCUSSED DURING MARCH SHUTTLE AND IN SALZBURG WITH VIEW TO PREPARING THE GROUND AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE FOR MY FIRST MEETING WITH RABIN AND ISRAELI NEGOTIATING TEAM DURING MY FIRST STOP IN ISRAEL AT BEGINNING OF SHUTTLE. SO FAR AS LINES ON MAP AND QUESTIONS OF WARNING STATIONS AND ACCESS ROUTES TO OIL FIELDS ARE CONCERNED, MATTERS REST PRETTY MUCH AS I HAVE ALREADY REPORTED TO SADAT AND FAHMY AND REMAINING DETAILS WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT DURING THE SHUTTLE. WITH RESPECT TO AGREEMENT ITSELF, MY JUDGMENT IS THAT WE ARE NOW CLOSE TO A COMMON FRAMEWORK, BASED ON OUR UNDERSTANDING OF EGYPTIAN POSITION IN MARCH AND SALZBURG DISCUSSIONS, WITH RESPECT TO (A) NON-USE OF FORCE, (B) DURATION OF AGREEMENT AND (C) UNEF EXTENSIONS.

IN ADDITION TO FOREGOING, ISRAELI TEAM HAS RAISED WITH US (A) QUESTION OF FORMULATING POLITICAL ELEMENTS OF AGREEMENT WHICH WE HAVE DISCUSSED EARLIER AND REACHED GENERAL AGREEMENT ON WITH EGYPT AND (B) NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL POLITICAL ASSURANCES WHICH ISRAELIS WOULD LIKE. WITH RESPECT TO LATTER, WE HAVE INSISTED UPON LIMITING
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DISCUSSION TO THOSE AREAS ON WHICH WE ALREADY HAVE EGYPTIAN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE. AS FAHMY WILL RECALL, HOWEVER, WE HAVE IN OUR TALKS WITH EGYPTIANS ONLY DISCUSSED GENERAL CONCEPTS AND HAVE NEVER GOTTEN INTO SPECIFIC LANGUAGE. WE THINK IT WOULD NOW BE USEFUL IN PREPARING THE WAY AND CONTRIBUTING TO THE RAPID SUCCESS OF THE SHUTTLE FOR YOU AND FAHMY TO DISCUSS WITH GREATER SPECIFICITY, BUT WITHOUT SEEKING TO WORK OUT PRECISE

LANGUAGE, HOW THESE CONCEPTS MIGHT BE FORMULATED. AS FAHMY WILL RECALL, THESE CONCEPTS DEALT WITH THREE GENERAL AREAS: (A) EASING THE BOYCOTT, (B) TONING DOWN PROPAGANDA, AND (C) RESTRAINT WITH RESPECT TO POLITICAL

WARFARE.

A. ON THE BOYCOTT, EGYPT HAS INFORMED US THAT IT WILL NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST AMERICAN COMPANIES SEEKING TO DO BUSINESS IN EGYPT, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THOSE COMPANIES ARE ON OUR BOYCOTT LISTS. WE WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT EGYPT CONSIDER WHETHER IT COULD INFORM US THAT IT IS PREPARED IN PRACTICE TO EXTEND THIS PRINCIPLE TO EUROPEAN AND OTHER COMPANIES AS WELL.

B. WE UNDERSTAND FROM OUR EARLIER DISCUSSIONS THAT EGYPT IS PREPARED TO REDUCE HOSTILE PROPAGANDA IN ITS GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED MEDIA. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THIS COULD BE AUGMENTED BY AN UNDERSTANDING THAT EGYPT WILL EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN ITS OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ABOUT ISRAEL ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE WILL BE RECIPROCITY IN THIS REGARD FROM THE ISRAELI SIDE.

C. WITH RESPECT TO POLITICAL WARFARE, IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY HELPFUL PSYCHOLOGICALLY IF EGYPT COULD INFORM US THAT, ONCE INTERIM AGREEMENT IS CONCLUDED, IT WILL NOT WORK TO OBSTRUCT THE MAINTENANCE OR RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND OTHER STATES AND THAT IT WILL NOT WORK TO RESTRICT OR BAR ISRAELI PARTICIPATION IN UN OR OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS AND EVENTS.

IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE MEASURABLY TO PROGRESS DURING THE SHUTTLE IF BETWEEN NOW AND THEN EGYPT COULD BE GIVING
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THOUGHT TO WHAT ASSURANCES IT MIGHT BE ABLE TO CONVEY TO US, AND HOW THEY MIGHT BE FORMULATED, IN THE ABOVE THREE AREAS. IN ADDITION, WE WOULD OF COURSE WELCOME ANY PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS FAHMY MAY WISH TO CONVEY TO US ON THESE POINTS EVEN BEFORE THE SHUTTLE BEGINS.

THERE IS ONE FURTHER POINT WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN NOW TO EXPLORE WITH THE EGYPTIANS. ALTHOUGH IT WAS AGREED AS PART OF THE JANUARY 1974 DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT THAT ALL CARGOES DESTINED FOR AND COMING FROM ISRAEL WILL BE PERMITTED THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL FROM THE TIME OF ITS OPENING, IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT ISRAEL HAS UP TO NOW NOT SOUGHT TO EXERCISE THIS UNDERTAKING. ITS EXISTENCE, HOWEVER, IS WIDELY KNOWN, AND CLEARLY THE FULFILLMENT OF ALL THE UNDERSTANDINGS CONNECTED WITH

THE FIRST DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT IS IMPORTANT AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ATMOSPHERE AND TO THE SUCCESS OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS. IT SEEMS TO US THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THIS STEP BE TAKEN IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND THAT THE BEST WAY TO DO THIS WOULD BE TO ARRANGE FOR A THIRD-PARTY FLAGSHIP CARRYING CARGO TO OR FROM ISRAEL TO TRANSIT THE

CANAL AT SOME POINT DURING THE FORTHCOMING SHUTTLE. OTHERWISE, I AM CONCERNED THAT THIS COULD BECOME AN ISSUE THAT WOULD SERIOUSLY COMPLICATE THE NEGOTIATIONS. I WOULD APPRECIATE HAVING FAHMY'S COMMENT ON THIS SUGGESTION WHICH I WANT HIM TO KNOW I STRONGLY ENDORSE.

FOR AMBASSADOR TOON: FOREGOING IS STRICTLY FOR YOUR BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

END MESSAGE. SISCO

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, CHEROKEE 08/15/75, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, BRIEFING MATERIALS, PEACE PLANS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-C
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE194544
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: ALATHERTON, JR./HLK
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P850047-2463, N750003-0222
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750847/aaaabpen.tel
Line Count: 186
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08 APR 2003 by Izenbel0>; APPROVED <01 DEC 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MESSAGE FOR FAHMY
TAGS: PFOR, PREL, EG, IS, US, (SADAT, ANWAR), (FAHMY, ISMAIL), (EILTS, HERMANN F)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006